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535 883 The signal for the commencement of the dance usually emanates from the precentor, who goes to the plaza with his rattle, which he begins to shake there while singing in an undertone. Upon this signal the girls take up their position in a row and join in the chant, at first likewise in a low tone. Not until the second or third song is intoned do the youths rise from the sites of their age classes and face the girls.

533 The singing is confined to the girls and the precentor. Except for their periodic shouting in chorus the boys and young men dance in silence. So far as I am able to interpret them, the brief texts of the songs, which are repeated four or more times, refer without exception to animals and their mode of life, especially their food. The melodies are simple, but because of the frequency of half tones and deviations from our rhythmic patterns I found it most difficult to grasp and retain them—to the Indians' great and constant regret, the girls often enough vainly laboring with me. Not only the precentor but the girls, too, chant in strangely deep, guttural tones in two or three voices, individuals varying from thirds to fourths according to preference. The effect is ample, serious, solemn, in fast time growing impressively passionate; Neobrazilians disparagingly compare the Timbira chanting to the roar of wild beasts.

535 Women and girls stand in a row without moving from position; there seems to be no fixed cardinal direction for them to face. During the song they merely bend the knee rhythmically (ikontoitói) while their arms, bent at right angles with the palms up, are moved back and forth so that the hands nearly touch (ipatapé). I have attended several hundred dances, but never observed the alternate stamping with their feet described by Abreu, nor the limb contortions and circular movements of the abdominal muscles reported by Snethlage.[180] Pohl also failed to note anything of the sort among the Põrekamekra:

> Their movements consisted only in their more or less curving in of the feet according to the time of the howling: the knees were bent forward, then the right foot was advanced and retracted in unison without abandonment of the dancers' position. At the same time their hands were bent in uniform fashion and these, too, like the feet, were advanced and retracted by all girls at the same time and rhythmically.
>
> (Ihre Bewegungen bestanden blos darin, daß sie die Füße nach dem Takt des Geheules mehr oder minder einkrümmten, so die Kniee vorwärts beugten und dann den rechten Fuß gleichmäßig vorsetzten und zurückzogen, alles ohne ihre Stelle zu verlassen. Zu gleicher Zeit setzten sie die Hände gleichförmig gebogen, und auch diese wurden, wie die Füße, im Einklang mit denselben vorgestreckt oder zurückgezogen, welches von allen Mädchen zugleich und taktmäßig geschieht.)

The precentress has her position in the middle of the girls' row. Whenever, as now and then happens, the precentor pauses for a few seconds, it devolves on the precentress to keep up the chant, which must not be interrupted under any circumstances.

The precentor's behavior is not easily defined in words. Approximately it conforms to the following scheme. He dances, usually from left to right, directly in front of the women's line, then returns in a wide arc to the left. But especially when the dancers have attained the proper state of excitement, which among all the Timbira takes a rather long time, this simple scheme almost disappears amid a host of variants. Then the precentor will vigorously chant and rattle at each girl singly, stamp his feet, stoop down before her, leap up with outstretched legs without change of station. A spectator gets the impression that the performer is making superhuman efforts to impart his own enthusiasm to the girl. While thus engaged he holds his instrument very nearly at the level of his girdle and to one side of his

[180] Frões Abreu, 180. Snethlage, Meine Reise, 466; *idem.*, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried nepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

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This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also among the Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahõ', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

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In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrĩne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last rigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

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The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

535 [832] 789

The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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526 home of their deceased best runner, who died on a journey a year ago; there they indulge in a brief lament. Then—lest anyone imagine they were exhausted by their bit of exercise—they once more take up their logs and run around the boulevard with them, or run an ordinary race by twos, or a relay race. Not until then do they take a bath.

535 After every major race a solo dance is indicated. Properly it devolves on one of the four čų'kate, but very often some other man who happens to feel like it assumes the rattle girdle and with it their role. In addition he has for insignia his club and a special dance staff or at least an arrow which he grasps with both hands and holds aloft in horizontal position. Usually he begins in the plaza, then trots on the radial path to a house, in front of which he spends several seconds singing and dancing, whereupon he returns to the plaza by the same path, again dances there, uses the next radial path, and continues thus till he has danced before each and every one of the thirty houses and is then as a rule completely exhausted. However, it often [533] happens that the performer merely dances from house to house along the boulevard without each time returning to the plaza. The accompanying solo songs illustrate the sharp distinction the Rąmkõ'kamekra draw between piano and forte. Snethlage mentions a solo dancer who alternately balanced his dance staff on his finger tips, his nose, or chin.[208] This is certainly not a fixed custom; I have never witnessed it.

526 Notwithstanding the well-nigh superhuman exertions made I have not observed
147 any detriment to the health of the log bearers; nor does the ensuing bath prove unsalutary. On the other hand, in any race of considerable extent there are many minor foot injuries due to tree stumps and thorns.

526 And now we come to the feature that remains incomprehensible to the Neobrazil-
201 ian and leads to his constantly ascribing ulterior motives to this Indian game: The
156 victor and the others who have desperately exerted themselves to the bitter end
183 receive not a word of praise, nor are the losers and outstripped runners subject to the least censure; there are neither triumphant nor disgruntled faces. The sport is an end in itself, not the means to satisfy personal or group vanity. Not a trace of jealousy or animosity is to be detected between the teams. Each participant has done his best because he likes to do so in a log race. Who turns out to be the victor or loser makes as little difference as who has eaten most at a banquet. Only the lazybones who plays truant when a race is on becomes the target of blame and mockery. [578] The term čukaká (p. 119) is considered very derogatory, especially when applied by a woman to a man.

526 The major log races held at the close of the annual festivals, above all at pepyé,
224 invariably arouse the interest of the entire village. The ordinary ones create much less excitement. When men in a group return from some big hunting trip or other labor, they generally enter the village by way of a log race. If the participants are few in number, they simply chop off two tree limbs corresponding to their strength. Though such races proceed quietly and unobtrusively, the entrance into the village nevertheless always lures a number of interested spectators to the doors of their houses.

526 At one of the great races it is difficult to supervise individual achievements. To be sure, a competent class-leader will try to regulate the procedure, but it may well happen that a good runner overexerts himself at the very start or at a particularly unfavorable stage of the course so as to fall far behind, while an inferior racer manages to save his strength for the finish. With the general enthusiasm and agitation, artificially heightened by the noise, there is little scope for cold, calculating

[208] Snethlage, Nordostbras., 179.

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On the same day I was presented with the pepyé lance; my "sister" Kra'napę'n carried it to the plaza and before the assembled people dubbed it "Patkró."

Singing lessons.—With the beginning of daybreak (July 15) the pepyé left their nocturnal camp for a spot in the woods along the Ribeirão Santo Estevão bank, three hundred meters above the road leading westward out of the village. There they cleared an area of about twelve square meters and made themselves at home. Early in the morning the chiefs, the precentor Partói, and a number of women went thither, headed by old To'pó, who sang, carrying his staff. I was invited to join the party.

The pepyé were seated on the ground in a circle, waiting for us, the girl associates lying a little to one side. We sat down on the east side of the circle. The women were holding themselves aloof. Everyone made a serious face, and at most soft whispering was audible. Four pepyé with rods in their hands stood guard among those seated to forestall improper conduct; they bear the title mehamárkate or ko'túmre.

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To'pó stepped inside the circle. Facing east, leaning his hands on his staff and rocking his body back and forth, he intoned the iyeõ' chant, which is sung exclusively at pepyé:

iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére rererêt hikoikwâkam
? ? ? hummingbird in my sky
iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére ritere ame xikratúm
? ? ? my grandfather

Then he gave his staff to the deputy, who repeated the song in the same posture. Thus all the pepyé, successively stepping within the circle, sang the iyeõ' chant, the errand boys and the girl associates last of all. Chief Hąktokót, the supreme authority on initiations, sat beside me, criticizing the rendition. A man named Tepyét was undoubtedly the best singer.

Now the precentor stepped into the circle and intoned another song, which the two leaders repeated first, followed successively by all the other pepyé.

Next the two girls were taught the avaitipó series of three songs, which is also peculiar to this phase of initiation. Their two colleagues, the women once associated in the same way with the next older (wakõ'kama) class, who had come along for this very purpose, stepped beside them, while the deputy with a dance rattle joined the precentor, forming a sextet.

1. kačẽ're hipoktokwę' (heard in the song as : kače-a-ri ĩipokokwehe).
The star causes a conflagration.

This refers to Halley's comet in 1910, for the Indians were afraid that its tail would set the world afire. The men danced ahead with their rattles, behind them the girls abreast of one another. Raising and lowering the spread-out and slightly curved index and middle fingers of both their hands to about the height of the chest, they danced up and down for a while.

2. ipéyre kenkana nõ.
The duck on the stone lies.

At this song the men faced the girls; all danced simultaneously toward the center and again backward so as to separate, at the same time swinging their arms to and fro in front of their bodies and jerking their feet forward.

3. avar tik pó tepre
anajá palm belly wide and flat small fish
avar tik pó retre
anajá belly wide and flat lizard

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into ką′ and atų′k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõ′kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčą′, old Koyapą′, the catcher, and an Indian named Korã′ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã′ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapą′ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwų′nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwę′i and Koté my kwų′nõ′.

After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

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The pepkahą'k sit in a circle on the mats, with a fixed position of their legs, grasp each staff at about the level of the head and brace it vertically against the ground. In the middle of the circle sits the old precentor, opposite him the girls. The chant begins in very low and deep tones, in sharply stressed two-fourths time, for the singers rhythmically rock their bodies with a circular movement from the right forward toward the left, always resting on their staffs. The girl associates, who are without staffs, sit immobile. From the village this initial chant sounds almost like the muffled, rhythmic noise of a machine in motion. After a while there are songs with words. Now the girls' loud and clear notes drown the dull masculine chorus of men and youths. After a while all rise and continue their songs standing, always propped on their staffs and lightly stamping their right feet during the rotary movement of their bodies. Thus the songs continue from seven till midnight or even later. Between every two stanzas there is a short intermission, often hardly a second in duration; at greater intervals a longer pause is interpolated, during which all sit down and rest. No one utters a word throughout the entire performance, only the leaders occasionally whisper some direction. If the nocturnal bird called *rasga-mortalha* by the Brazilians (*Caprimulgus* sp.) utters his cry during a song, the chant abruptly ceases. Ordinarily some forty stanzas are sung each night.

Kentapí, the girl associate of 1928, who still remembered most of the texts spontaneously and as Ką'e's niece could easily get relevant information, dictated to me painfully (for like all other informants, she would constantly lose the context) a number of stanzas, but she was able to translate them no more than any fellow villager. So far as I credit myself with grasping the meaning, the lines refer exclusively to animals, especially to birds and their food, each verse dealing with a single species:

1. hinarí karakõẽ' kukrį'ti
   ? soar king vultures
2. kaka teyarí tomó pypy're ha teyarí tomó
   ? step waterfowl? step
3. yu krẽkahą'ka kõrat nayeneką'
   ? maracaná ? ?
4. hõtire, hõtire vinekpikąepičą ta'nõiamã
   curica curica no food ? wait
5. krẽtire krẽtire nekupekuipečą nehõkačą
   periquito periquito eat ? ?
6. hikuti takąmã punaputẽ
   tinha seeks a hole
7. čuti kaką'ra kaka punatẽ napui kačwę napui kaprõ'
   big mutuca horsefly blood
   maipõ' napučáne čukaką'ra

Disturbances.—The intrusion of Neobrazilian whisky dealers now interfered with the normal procedure. One of the leaders of the pepkahą'k was found on the steppe dead drunk, and the girl associates began to break seclusion every night to sleep in their mothers' houses for fear of the constantly besotted members. I asked Kentapí whether the same lack of discipline had characterized the festival in 1928 when she had served as associate. She was very indignant, her brother Pąnhí being one of the present drunkards, and declared that no whisky had got to the society on the previous occasion, the leaders had rigorously maintained order, she herself had been tied up for hours for having once broken internment and sneaked off to her mother's home. That year the girl associates had felt perfectly safe by day or night; no one had so much as thought of undue liberties. Also the pepkahą'k had suffered no dearth of meat then and felt no need to steal strangers' cattle. The mem-